

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM H - JENKINS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, SF

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA

1. THE FOLLOWING LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 12 FROM
SENATOR CLARK WAS DELIVERED TO US TODAY WITH THE
REQUEST THAT IT BE TRANSMITTED TO YOU.

BEGIN QUOTE

MR. SECRETARY:

ATTACHED IS A VERY CONCISE SUMMARY OF WHY YOUR
TASK IN NAMIBIA MAY BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN RHODESIA.
MRS. BAKER TESTIFIED BEFORE OUR COMMITTEE LAST WEEK AND
I ASKED HER TO PREPARE THIS SUMMARY FOR ME. I THINK
YOU WILL FIND IT VALUABLE.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM
THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, N.Y.

SENATOR DICK CLARK
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CLARK:

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST THAT I PROVIDE A CONCISE SUMMARY OF MY ORAL TESTIMONY DURING THE HEARINGS ON SOUTH-ERN AFRICA YESTERDAY, I LIST BELOW THE MAIN POINTS IN MY REMARKS REGARDING THE ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES, AND THE ROLE OF THE U.S. A FULLER EXPLANATION OF THESE POINTS IS PROVIDED IN THE WRITTEN STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY WHICH I SUBMITTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE.

THE CURRENT VIEW OF THE U.S. IS THAT ZIMBABWE IS MORE EASILY SOLUBLE THAN NAMIBIA, PRIMARILY BECAUSE SOUTH AFRICA EXERCISES A FAR GREATER MEASURE OF CONTROL OVER SOUTHWEST AFRICA THAN OVER RHODESIA. I DISAGREE WITH THIS INTERPRETATION. SOUTH AFRICA HAS A MUCH MORE DETERMINED INTEREST IN RETAINING INFLUENCE IN NAMIBIA FOR SENTIMENTAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REASONS. IN NAMIBIA, PRETORIA FACES A DIFFICULT TASK: IT MUST CREATE A TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE THAT SIMULTANEOUSLY SATISFIED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, ALLAYS THE FEARS OF MINORITIES, FULFILLS THE ASPIRATIONS OF MILITANT NATIONALISTS, AND GUARANTEES THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S OWN VITAL INTERESTS ARE NOT SACRIFICED. THIS CONTRASTS WITH RHODESIA. WHERE PRETORIA HAS ALREADY COMMITTED HERSELF TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE AND WHERE SHE FULLY CONTROLS THE LIFELINE THAT REMAINS THE SOLE CHANNEL THROUGH WHICH THE SMITH REGIME REMAINS IN POWER. AS A RESULT, I FEEL THAT IN THE LONG RUN SOUTH AFRICA WILL PROVE TO BE MORE INTRACTABLE ON THE NAMIBIAN ISSUE THAN ON THE RHODESIAN.

THE PERTINENT FACTORS TO CONSIDER ARE THE FOLLOWING:

1. THE ROLE OF THE NATIONALISTS. SWAPO IS IN THE STRONGLIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EST DIPLOMATIC POSITION ANY NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN AFRICA HAS EVER OBTAINED, REGARDED AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA BY THE OAU AND THE UN. IT IS UNIFIED, AIDED BY FOREIGN FORCES, HAS THE BACKING OF THE LARGEST SINGLE ETHNIC GROUP REPRESENTING 45 OF THE POPULATION, ENJOYS SOME OF THE SUPPORT OF IDEOLOGICALLY SIMILAR PARTIES, AND OPERATES FROM TWO SYMPATHETIC COUNTRIES, ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA. THE ZIMBABWE

NATIONALISTS ARE DEEPLY DIVIDED, FIRST BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY FACTIONS, AND THEN WITHIN EACH OF THESE GROUPS. THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED FRATRICIDAL VIOLENCE THAT HAS HURT THEIR CAUSE BADLY. NONE OF THE FACTIONS HAVE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION.

2. THE ROLE OF THE WHITES. IN RHODESIA, THE RATIO OF BLACKS TO WHITES IS 22 TO 1; IN SOUTHWEST AFRICA, THE RATIO IS 8 TO 1. MOST WHITE RHODESIANS ARE RECENT IMMIGRANTS WITH POLITICAL TIES TO SOUTH AFRICA; MOST WHITES IN SOUTHWEST ARE SECOND OR THIRD GENERATION SETTLERS, WITH BLOOD TIES TO SOUTH AFRICA. SOUTHWEST AFRICAN WHITES ARE THEREFORE PROPORTIONALLY LARGER AND HAVE CLOSER BONDS WITH PRETORIA THAN DO THE RHODESIAN WHITES.

3. POLITICAL TRADITIONS AND SOUTH AFRICAN OBLIGATIONS. THE RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION INCLUDES BLACK REPRESENTATION, HOWEVER SMALL, AND IMPLIES EVENTUAL MAJORITY RULE. SOUTHWEST AFRICA IS MODELED IN THE SHADOW OF ITS MASTER, HAVING DUPLICATED APARTHEID, WHICH MANY WHITES FEEL SOUTH AFRICA IS OBLIGED TO DEFEND. SOUTH AFRICA HAS RULED SOUTHWEST FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY UNDER VIRTUAL PROPRIETARY CONTROL, WHEREAS RHODESIA IS REGARDED MORE REMOTELY AS A POLITICAL ALLY WITH A SEPARATE IDENTITY.

4. ECONOMIC INTERESTS. SOUTH AFRICA HAS LARGE INVESTMENTS IN NAMIBIA, ESPECIALLY IN MINING WHERE THERE ARE TREMENDOUS RESERVES OF URANIUM AND DIAMONDS. FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW, RHODESIA IS DISPENSIBLE.

5. COINCIDENCE OF U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS. U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS COINCIDE ON RHODESIA: BOTH WANT A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT TOWARD MAJORITY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RULE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. NEITHER WANT TO GET EMBROILED IN DEFENDING A SINKING REGIME. BY CONTRAST, U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS DIVERGE IN NAMIBIA. THE U.S. SEEKS RAPID INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE, WITH-

DRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY, POLICE AND ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL, AND A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES. SOUTH AFRICA WANTS SLOW INDEPENDENCE, HAS NOT YET CONCEDED THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE, CANNOT POSSIBLY WITHDRAW HER PERSONNEL WHEN THERE IS NO ONE ACCEPTABLE TO HER TO TURN OVER TO, AND WILL TOLERATE CONTINUING HOSTILITIES IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE FIGHTING DOES NOT RUSH DOWN TO HER BORDERS ON THE ORANGE RIVER, WITHIN 350 MILES OF CAPE TOWN.

IT IS MY VIEW THAT NAMIBIA WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BRING U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS DIRECTLY INTO CONFLICT. THE COLLAPSE OF WHITE RULE IN RHODESIA, BY CONTRAST, IS INEVITABLE; THE ONLY REMAINING QUESTIONS RELATE TO HOW AND WHEN.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE U.S.? WE MUST FIRST RECOGNIZE THAT BLACKS WANT A BLACK SOLUTION, NOT ONE ARRANGED BY AMERICAN PATERNALISM OR SOUTH AFRICAN PRAGMATISM. BLACKS ARE DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF U.S. INTENTIONS. WE MUST THEREFORE BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR AS TO WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES ARE, DEFINING THE LIMITS OF OUR INVOLVEMENT TO AVOID MAJOR MISPERCEPTIONS SUCH AS OCCURRED IN ANGOLA, WHERE BLACKS ACCUSED THE U.S. OF BEING IN TOW WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS CRITICIZED US FOR NOT LIVING UP TO THAT ACCUSATION. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD WE PERMIT THAT SITUATION TO RECUR.

CONCRETELY, IN THE UPCOMING TALKS, THE U.S. MUST EXTRACT CONCESSIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA AT A TIME WHEN, FACING CRISES ON EVERY FRONT, SHE NEEDS THE U.S. MOST. SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE PRESSED TO GIVE FIRM COMMITMENTS TO (A) CUT OFF THE LIFELINE TO RHODESIA, PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY, AND (B) INCLUDE SWAPO IN MEANINGFUL TALKS AS A POLITICAL PARTY, THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH THE WAR IN NAMIBIA CAN BE STOPPED AND A TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENT OFFICIAL USE

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DENCE UNDER STABLE CONDITIONS BE ENSURED.

PRETORIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IS DOMINATED BY A SINGLE OVERRIDING THEME: TO MAKE AFRICA SAFE FOR AFRIKANERDOM, A GOAL IN FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION TO AFRICAN NATIONALISM. SOONER OR LATER, THE U.S. IS GOING TO HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE TWO. THE LONGER IT TAKES, THE NARROWER WILL BE OUR OPTIONS. ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA ARE PRELUDES TO THE CONFLICT COMING IN SOUTH AFRICA

ITSELF. AS LONG AS WHITE SUPREMACY REMAINS THE KEYSTONE OF NATIONAL PARTY POLICY, THE FUTURE PRESENTS AN APPALLING SPECTACLE IN WHICH SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE CONCURRENTLY FIGHTING A CIVIL WAR AND AN INTERNATIONAL OFFENSIVE ON HER BORDERS, A SITUATION WHICH NO REGIME IN HISTORY HAS YET SURVIVED. AMERICA'S POLICY SHOULD NOT CONTINUE TO PLACE PROTRACTED PROGRESS TOWARD PEACEFUL CHANGE ABOVE THE IMMEDIACY OF DEMANDS FOR RACIAL JUSTICE. IT IS ONLY FROM JUSTICE THAT PEACE WILL FOLLOW, AND NOT THE REVERSE.

THANK YOU, SENATOR, FOR YOUR INTEREST IN MY COMMENTS.

I SINCERELY HOPE THAT THEY WILL MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD
CURRENT U.S. EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT POSITIVE AND JUST
CHANGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

END QUOTE ROBINSON

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